

# A Middle Turkic *qaṣīda* in the Uyghur script\*

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1. Previous studies
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The Herat (Vienna) manuscript of *Qutaḡu Bilig*, dated 1439,<sup>1)</sup> contains a Middle Turkic *qaṣīda* (a poem of praise) with 38 distichs and religious content. Starting with praise of God, it refers to the names of some of the prophets up to Muḥammad and his companions, as well as some famous jurists and mystics. It ends with an Arabic prayer.<sup>2)</sup>

The text of this *qaṣīda* was first published by H. Vámbéry in 1867 and subsequently by such scholars as W. Radloff, S. Je. Malov, and Q. Sodiqov. However, none of these texts are fully-equipped with transcription, translation, and commentary. The aim of this paper is to present a new text edition of the *qaṣīda* with English translation and commentary, making much use of the results of recent studies in the field of Old and Middle Turkic linguistics.

## 1. Previous studies

The contents of pp. 186-189 of this manuscript are as follows:

A. <i>qaṣīda</i> (in Uyghur script, with the last line in Arabic script)	[186.1] - [189.4]
B. <i>qit'a</i> (in Uyghur script)	[189.5] - [189.8]
C. colophon I (in Uyghur script)	[189.9] - [189.14]
D. Persian <i>rubā'ī</i> (in Arabic script)	[189.15] - [189.16] <sup>3)</sup>
E. a note (in Uyghur script written vertically)	[188] bottom margin
F. colophon II (in Uyghur script)	[189.17] - [189.20]

Colophon I has the date of Muḥarram 4, 843 (June 17, 1439), which is the same date found in the colophon to *Qutaḡu Bilig* [185.26-27]. This means that texts ABC were all written on the day the copying of *Qutaḡu Bilig* was completed in Herat, naturally by the same scribe.<sup>4)</sup> Text E has its own date

(see below) and probably belongs to a different hand.

On the other hand, text F is in a different kind of Uyghur script and was added much later, in 879 (1474/1475), after the manuscript was brought to Istanbul; accordingly, text F will not be dealt with in this paper.<sup>5)</sup>

The first study dealing with these texts was published in 1867 by H. Vámbéry. This article consists of the reproduction of the relevant parts of the manuscript, text A, B,<sup>6)</sup> C and F, in the Arabic script, and their German translations together with some notes.

Subsequently, W. Radloff, after making a brief remark on these texts in the introduction to the Petersburg edition of the facsimile (1890:II), published the whole texts using Uyghur movable type (texts A, B, C, E, and F) and Arabic script (text D) (1891:228-231). The spellings of several words were “normalized” according to his interpretation, with the forms in the manuscript given in footnotes. It must be emphasized that this is the only study so far that contains text E.

Among the later studies, the introduction to the facsimile edition of the Herat manuscript of *Qutaḡu Bilig*, published in 1942 in Istanbul, contains transcriptions of texts D and F, together with a Turkish translation of text D (pp. 14-16). These texts are also treated in the critical edition of *Qutaḡu Bilig*, prepared by R. R. Arat. It offers transcriptions of texts C and F with their Turkish translations. Concerning text A (*qaṣīda*), Arat determined that the name of its author was “Hasan Kara Sa’il (?) Şems,”<sup>7)</sup> although he did not present its entire text (Arat 1947:XXXIV-XXXV).

In his famous chrestomathy of Old (and Middle) Turkic, published in 1951, S. Ye. Malov presented texts A and C in Uyghur movable type (different from the one used by Radloff) with their Russian translations and a short remark on the language (pp. 342-350). The vocabulary of these texts is contained in the glossary at the end of the book.<sup>8)</sup>

The most recent study devoted to these texts is Sodiqov (2010). It contains texts A, B, C, D, and F in Latin transcription (pp. 129-131 and pp. 5-6), with Uzbek translations of texts D and F.

As far as the text of the *qaṣīda* (text A) is concerned, both Vámbéry’s and Malov’s contributions are, despite the importance they certainly once had, largely outdated. Not only do they lack transcription, incorrect readings and interpretations can be observed, as shown in Sugahara (2009). Sodiqov’s text of the *qaṣīda*, on the other hand, in general offers much better readings than those of Vámbéry and Malov. However, it gives neither translation nor commentary, and there are some cases where the reading is doubtful, or the basis of the reading is unclear.

## 2. Language and orthography

As Malov (1951:349) characterized it as “late Uyghur” (*pozdneyugurskij*), the language of these texts exhibits later features than Old Uyghur and the language of *Qutaḡu Bilig*.<sup>9)</sup> On the other hand, its language clearly belongs to an older stage than the fifteenth-century Chaghatay, as seen in the combination of case suffixes in *anīṭīn* ‘from him’ (9), use of the particle *ma* (55, 75), or such lexical items as *īd-* ‘to send’ (43), *kūdāz-* ‘to watch over, protect’ (76), *māngü/mengü* ‘eternal’ (65, 72), *savčī* ‘prophet’ (43), *yalavač* ‘apostle’ (33), and *tālim* ‘many’ (37), all of which are either unattested or rarely observed in fifteenth-century Chaghatay texts.

The orthography employed in this manuscript contains notable differences from the traditional Uyghur orthography of the pre-Islamic period. Most of them are common features of the Uyghur manuscripts of the Timurid period. For example, word-initial *a* and *ä* are both spelled with a double aleph (”), while in the traditional orthography, the latter is spelled with a single aleph (').<sup>10)</sup>

a = ”: ”*ly* (7) *altī* ‘six’; ”*ndyn* (9) *andīn* ‘from him’; ”*c* (69) *ač* ‘open!’

ä = ”: ’*s* (2) *äš* ‘fellow, companion’; ”*rwr* (13) *ärür* ‘is’

Defective writing of the first-syllable vowels *ä/a* in certain words, a feature of the traditional Uyghur orthography, is not employed.

y’*rlyx* (43) *yarliḡ* ‘decree, revelation’; y’*rlyx*’*n-myš* (55) *yarliḡanmīš* ‘given mercy’; ’*rsl*’*n* (56) *arslan* ‘lion’

The use of *-wy-* (as opposed to *-w-*) for *ö/ü* in the first syllable of the word is not consistent. In other words, front vowels *ö/ü* and back vowels *o/u* (which are always spelled with *-w-*) are not always distinguished in spelling.

ö/ü = *-wy-* : *kwyr* (39) *kör* ‘see!’; ’*wyz-y* (44) *özi* ‘himself’; *swyz-wm-nyñk* (66) *sözümnij* ‘of my words’; *kwyd’kw* (54) *küdäḡü* ‘son-in-law’

ö/ü = *-w-* : *kwlk’-sy* (45) *kölgäsi* ‘its shadow’; ’*wr-’-syn* (19) *öräsin* ‘the space above it (acc.)’;

*kwñdwz* (24) *kündüz* ‘daytime’; *tws-m’ly* (45) *tüšmätī* ‘it did not fall’; ’*wlwk* (75) *ülüg* ‘share, portion’

ö/ü = *-wy-* or *-w-* : *twyrt* (7) / *twrt* (84) *tört* ‘four’; *twyr’t-tyñk* (20) / *twr’t-tyñk* (42) *törättij* ‘you created’; ’*wyc* (52) / ’*wc* (46) *üč* ‘three’

The letter *v* (beth) is used to represent the *w* in words of Arabic and Persian origin with the exception of y’*l’v’c* (33) (cf. OT *yalavač* ‘apostle’.<sup>11)</sup>

’*lv’n* (17) < Ar. *’ahwān* ‘colors’; ’*v’l* (73) < Ar. *’awwal* ‘first’; *c’vx’r* (5) < Ar. *jawhar* ‘substance’; *t’vryt* (14) < Ar. *Tawrāt* ‘Torah’; *nyšwrv’n* (70) < Pers. *Nōšīrwān* (personal name); *r’v’n* (21) < Pers. *rawān*

‘going, running’

The same sound is also represented by the letter *w* (vau) as shown below, which means that the letter *v* was used as an alternative to the letter *w* as a consonant letter,<sup>12)</sup> with no difference in sound.

’*l-w*’*n* (18) < Ar. *’alwān* ‘colors’; ’*w-*’ (28) < *Ḥawwā*’ (personal name)<sup>13)</sup>; *ryz-w*’*n* (26) < Ar. *riḍwān* ‘the gate guard of paradise’; *w*’*sy*r (3) < Ar. *wazīr* ‘counselor’; ’*y-w*’*n* (70) < Pers. *aywān* ‘portico, palace’; *k*’*r-w*’*n* (22) < Pers. *kārwān* ‘caravan’

On the other hand, the sound corresponding to Old Turkic *v*, for which the letter *v* (beth) was employed in the Old Uyghur orthography, is generally written with the letter *p* (pe).

’*pwc* (27) cf. OT *avuč* ‘handful’; *s*’*p-cy* (43) cf. OT *savčī* ‘messenger, prophet’; (-)*swp* (24) / *sww* (19) cf. OT *suv* ‘water.’

This situation can be explained in the following way: it is assumed that most of the Uyghur manuscripts of the Timurid period are copied from those written in Arabic script. In Old and early Middle Turkic manuscripts written in Arabic script, the above consonant is represented by triply-dotted *fā*,<sup>14)</sup> while the consonant *f* found in words of Arabic and Persian origin is written with an ordinary, single-dotted *fā*. The latter sound is always represented with the Uyghur letter *p*. It is then understood that both the ordinary *fā* and the triply-dotted *fā* were treated in the same way by the scribes; that is, they were rendered into the Uyghur letter *p*.<sup>15)</sup>

The consonants *h*, ‘, *h*, and ’, which occur in words of Arabic and Persian origin, are represented, in principle, by the letter ’ (aleph) at the initial position of spelling and with the letter *x/q* (gimel-cheth)<sup>16)</sup> elsewhere.

With the letter ’ (aleph):

ḥ : ’*cyp* (3) < Ar. *ḥājib* ‘chamberlain’; ’*ym*’*n* (74) < Ar. *ḥikmat* ‘wisdom’

‘ : ’*wd*’*ryd* (23) < Ar. *uṭārid* ‘Mercury’; ṣ’*r-y-*’*t* (47) < Ar. *ṣarī’at* ‘the sacred law’

h : ’*s*’*r* (17) < Pers. *hazār* ‘thousand’; *q*’-’*r* (65) < Ar. *qahhār* ‘dominator’<sup>17)</sup>

’ : ’*ym*’*n* (47) < Ar. *’imān* ‘faith’; ’*d*’*m* (28) < Ar. *’Ādam* (personal name); *xwr-*’*n(-)* (12) < Ar. *Qur’ān* ‘Qur’an’

with the letter *x/q*

ḥ : *r*’*xm*’*t* (44) < Ar. *raḥmat* ‘mercy’; *myqn*’*t* (37) < Ar. *miḥnat* ‘affliction’

‘ : *m*’*sxwd* (58) < Ar. *Mas’ūd* (personal name); *t*’*p*’-*yyx* (7) < Ar. *ṭabā’i* ‘natures’

h : *c*’*vx*’*r* (5) < Ar. *jawhar* ‘substance’; *myxm*’*n* (30) < Pers. *mihmān* ‘guest’

’ : *t*’*qwd* (29) < Ar. *Dā’ūd* (personal name)

In some cases *h* and ‘ are represented by the letter *y* (jod).

'ypr 'yym (31) < Ar. *'Ibrāhīm* (personal name); s 'yyt (48, 50) < Ar. *šahīd* 'martyr'; 'yz-m 'yyt (31) < Ar. *'Ismā'il* (personal name)

Note that in all four of these examples, the relevant consonant is adjacent to *ī*, which suggests that this peculiar spelling had a phonetic reality.<sup>18)</sup>

In the following examples, word-final consonant *h* is not represented.<sup>19)</sup>

*mwñ 'sz-* (13) < Ar. *munazzah* 'infallible'; *p 'ds-* (38) < Pers. *pādšāh* 'king'; *s-* (47) < Pers. *šāh* 'king'

These rather complicated uses of the letters for rendering the consonants *ḥ*, ' , *h*, ' observed above basically conform to those found in [TA], as discussed in Sugahara (2007:24-25).

As seen in the other Uyghur manuscripts of the Timurid period, small Arabic letters such as *ḥ* (*ḥā'*), ' ('ayn), *ġ* (*ġayn*), and *h* (*hā'*) are written under some of the Uyghur letters, to distinguish these foreign consonants in writing. The word *Fārisī* and *ma'man* are written in Arabic script under their corresponding forms in Uyghur script in lines 58 and 72, respectively.

### 3. Transliteration<sup>20)</sup>

(Text A)

[186]

- 1 " x'mwx m'xlwx s'nynk ky xwd'r'dynk nynk pwr q'n y
- 2 pyrw p'r s'n ywx s'ñk'r "s twny ' mwx'py swp "ñ y
- 3 mwlkwnk k' "rdwx š'ryk ywx ñ' "cyp "m ' w'syr
- 4 "d'm mw cyñ ñw m'l'yyk p're' nynk ky r'qm'ñ y
- 5 c'vx'r y cyz mw x'r'z "rm'z s'ty twlw ywx
- 6 twx m'ty "m twxmys y ywq cwpdy ywx "m 'wxlñy
- 7 twyrt t'p' yyx pys x'p'z "lty c'x'd t' ywx m'k'ñ
- 8 "ldyn 'wsdwn 'wnk swl 'ycr ' mwn"syx y ywx 'ym k'ñ y
- 9 q'yyr "nynk tyn s'r "nynk tyn p're' ñ'ñk "m "ndyn 'wl
- 10 s'ty nynk ky t'spyx y ywx mwqdyz "rm'z cyz m'ñy
- 11 t'q t'ñkyz p're' py y'p'ñ "m 'wxwšw "m twywr
- 12 cwml ' m'qlwq x'lyq y 'wl m'qlwx "rm'z xwr "ñy
- 13 cyn mwñ'sz ' s'n "rwr s'n p'r syp'dynk twyrt mynk "d
- 14 t'vryt 'yncyl s'pwr tyn "q 'wdwrmys pwr x'ñ y
- 15 r'syx w x'p'r s'n 'wk s'n ' ' twyr'dk'n pyr 'wq'ñ
- 16 cwml'yy m'rswx s'ñ s'ñ "z y l'r ñyñk qwp r'ñy

- 17 xwt r'dynk t'ńkswx ''c'yyp s't ''s'r ''lv'n 'wz '  
 18 pyr y pyrk' 'wq š'm'z 'wl swñx y ñyñk ky ''l w'n y  
 19 pww y'dyx lyx y'r mwd'p'x sww 'wr ' syn twd' cy  
 20 'wl k'syk lyk 'wws mwX'l lx s'n twyr't tyñk x's r'ny  
 21 y'ty ny s'n 'wn 'yky pwrc t' ywrwdwr s'n r'v'n  
 22 s'msw swqr ' 'wl q'm'r kym y'ty ''pl'k k'r w'n y  
 23 mwšd'r y myrryx 'wd'ryd ''mr y ''sdyñ ''m swX'l h  
 24 twñl ' kwñdwz 'wdswp twpr'q kwll y ''l'm y'z t'ny  
 25 ''m ryñkk' mwX'd mwsd'x'r xwd r'dynk nynk 'ys cyz y  
 26 y'ty t'mwx m'lyky ''m s'kyz 'wcm'x ryz w'n y  
 27 pyr ''pwc y'lx ' t'dyk k' ''q 'xyr l'p p'rty c'n  
 [187]  
 28 s'kyz 'wcm'x x' kwkwrtý ''d'm 'ydryz ''w ' ny  
 29 k'x y t'qwd x'm y ñyñk ky swr'dyñ p'cyñ xylwr  
 30 k'x y mwz ' 'wsr ' myxm'n ''dty ''m 'wl s'ly ny  
 31 ''x nynk ''mr y ''rty 'ypr'yym x' 'yz m'yyl 'wewñ  
 32 pwlty t'slym ''q 'yc'p'd xyl ty t'rkyn xwrp'n y  
 33 ywz ykrmy <myñk> y'l'v'c ''rty l'r ''q p're' sy  
 34 tyd' rynk' ''šyx ''rty mwz ' 'ypñy 'ymr'n y  
 35 'ws pw kwñ nynk m'sryx yñ tyn 'wl y'n ' m'xryp x' c'  
 36 ywryr ''rty p'lqyz 'wdrw 'wl swl'ym'n p'r m'n y  
 37 y'xwp 'wqly ywt ty myqñ't t'rdty twxm't l'r t'lym  
 38 qylty xwl lwx pwlty p'ds ' 'wl ywswp y k'n\_'ny h  
 39 kwrk 'yeyñd' ''q ywswp q' qylty kwyr sydyq t'm'm  
 40 pwlty ''syx 'wl sylyx ' yyrd ty ywswp pyr ''ny  
 41 cwml ' mwrs'l x' ''cyñty cwpd 'wxwl xyz ''m n's'p  
 42 s'n twr't tynk rxw ' ny cyñ 'yz ' m'ry'm y'x y'ny <y'xy ' ny> h (?)  
 43 r'xm'dynk lyl ''l'myñ t'p y'rlyx 'yt tyñk s'p cy x'  
 44 ''ty ''xm't 'wyz y r'xm't ''mpyy ' l'r swld'n y  
 45 xwdqw xwñm'ty twñyñ k' tws m'ty ''c kwlk' sy  
 46 'wc mynk 'wc ywz mwX cys't y ''x pylwr pyz p're' ny  
 47 'ym'n 'ysl'm p's cy l'r tyñ š'r y\_'t s ' l'r y h (?)

48 ''rty l'r kwclwk mwp'ryz 'wl s'yty l'r pwrq'ny  
 49 pyry sy ''rty ''s'n 'wl pyryz y ''rty 'ws'yyñ  
 50 'ykyz y pwlyt s'yty l'r ''m ''xyr lyx rxw 'ny'  
 51 c'n l'r y ny ''x r'swl x' xylmys ''rty pyd'

[188]

52 twyrd ''š y twq wz x'dwñy 'wdwz 'wyc myñk y'r 'ny h  
 53 twyrd ''šyñd' 'yky sydyñ pyr y syddyq pyr 'wm'r '  
 54 'yky sy ''rty kwyd'kw ''m 'ly ''m 'wsm'n y h ' '  
 55 twyrdy mwxd'r 'lty sy m ' y'rlyx'n myš py kw m'n x ġ (?)  
 56 'wñyñk' t'kmyš p's'r'd 'wl 'ly ''q ''rsl'n y ' h  
 57 tyñ 'yeyñd' 'yš cy ''rty 'wl s'xp' cwml ' sy š h  
 58 t'lx ' ''pp'z ''mz ' m'sxwd 'wl x'd' s' s'lm'ny h ' h ' fārist  
 59 š'rx 'yeyñd' tyñ t'cy p's l'ryñk' 'wwr t' cy '  
 60 pw ''ñyp' 'wl s'pwr m'lyk m'xm't š'yp' ny h š h  
 61 mwš t'xyd l'r nyñk ky p'x'r y kwl y 'ylm nyñk k'n l'ry h h '  
 62 q'z y y''qwp š'pyx y ''m pw ''ñyp' ñwxm'ny ' ' h h '  
 63 'yšx 'yeyñd' pwl ''qyq't p'y'syd swñwn l'yw ' h z  
 64 pyr kwrwmwn swñ'r 'wrs w'wl m'cwz y n'z r'n y  
 65 = 'wlwx m'ñkw 'wq'nym q'dyrw q' ''r 'ydym ġ h  
 66 s'n k'cwrkyl twwš mys ''rz ' pw swyz wm nyñk twqy'ny ġ  
 67 = mwñkw m'pyl'ñ twrwdk'ñ ''m q'pwr s'n ''m s'pwr h ġ h  
 68 ''m r'xym s'n ''m k'rym s'n ''d 'ysym nyñk t'rm'n y h h h  
 69 p're' m'xlwx p'q y ''rm'z ''c p'qyñ 'ypr'd kwsyñ x '  
 70 x'lm ' ty swld'ñ s'l'dyñ ''m ñyšwrv'ñ ''y w'n y h  
 71 pw q'syd' ny 'wqyq'ñ ''m 'yšyd k'ñ k' 'ydym h  
 72 lwdpwnk 'yer ' p'rkyñ 'wcm'q myñkw tyd'r m''m'ny h ma'man  
 73 pw q'r ' s'yyl ''d'q ym ''v'l ''dym 'wl ''s'n

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74 'm 'wewñcy ''l q'pym (?) š'mz ''cty r'p 'ykm't k'ny h h  
 75 r'xm'dyñk tyñ m ' 'wlwk qyl = twr'dk'ñ pyr 'wx'ñ h ġ  
 76 s'n kwd'z kyl n'sx ''lyñd' cwml ' mwmyñ 'ym'n y '  
 77 *āmīn yā rabb al-‘ālamīn*

(Text B)

- 78 xwd'y ' k'r y'swx qyldym p'xysl ' x x  
 79 p' 'qq y mwsd'p' 'ww ''l y p'ydy h  
 80 y'swx syz xwt kysy ywx twr cyx'ñ t' h  
 81 y'm'n qylty 'wswl kym 'ym'n ny s'ddy

(Text C)

- 82 tyryx s'kyz ywz xyryx 'wc t' xwy 83 yyl ''xyr y mwyr'm ''y nynk  
 84 twrt y'nky sy 85 ''rw s'xryn 86 t' 87 pydylty

(Text D)

*jānē-st wujūdam ki jahānaš badan-ast / šam'ē-st ruxam ki āftābaš lakan-ast*  
*man banda-i xāš u maẓhar-i lutf-i Ḥaq-am / qişsa ėi kunam man ōyam ō jumla man-ast*

(Text E)

- (1) ''m (2) cwm'dyl ''xyr ''y (3) nynk 'wn pys (4) tyn p'sl'p ''y  
 (5) mynk r'nc ''lp' (?) (6) p'rt y l'r

#### 4. Transcription, English translation, and commentary<sup>21)</sup>

Text A. *Qaşida*<sup>22)</sup>

1. *ä qamuğ maxluğ sāniñki qud<'>ratıñniñ burhani*
2. *bir u bar sän yoq sañar äš dünya muhab-i subhani*  
 'O the one whose (*lit.* your) omnipotence all creatures prove!  
 You are one and existent, you have no fellow. The world is a divine gift.'

1. The interjection *ä* is written with two alephs, each in the shape of a horizontal line, laid one on top of the other. This is also observable in the other Uyghur manuscripts of the fifteenth century; see Sugahara (2007:22). The form *sāniñki*, consisting of the genitive of the second person singular pronoun and the suffix *-ki*, is used attributively here, with the corresponding possessive suffix *-iñ* attached to the head noun it modifies. Other examples of *-ki* following the genitive suffix are attested in lines 4, 10, 18, 29, and 61 of text A.<sup>23)</sup> *burhan* (*pwr-x'n-*) < Ar. *burhān* 'proof.'



2. *saṅar* is a dative form of the second-person singular pronoun *sān*, attested in *Qutadḡu Bilig* (cf. Erdal 2004:195) as well as in such Middle Turkic texts as *Muʿīn al-murīd* (Karamanlioğlu 2006:37 (978)) and *Central Asiatic Commentary* (*Tafsīr*) (Usta 2011:84 [18a27]).

The second to last word is read *mwḡʿpy*<sup>24)</sup> and can be interpreted as the Arabic word *mūhab* ‘presented’ (Steingass 1975:1349) + the Persian ezāfe *-i. subhani* (*swp-ʿn-y*) < *subhānī* ‘divine.’

3. *mulküṅgä artuq šarik yoq na hajib ham [n]a wazir*

4. *adam <m>u jinn u malayik barčānīṅki rahmanī*

‘To your sovereignty there is no other companion, neither a chamberlain nor a counsellor.

(You are) the most compassionate to all existence, (that is) men, jinns, and angels.’

4. The spelling of the first two words *ʿdʿm mw* is probably due to an erroneous duplication of the letter *m* and should be read as *adam u* ‘men and.’<sup>25)</sup>

5. *javharī jism u ʿaraz ārmās zatī (?) twlw yoq*

6. *tuḡmatī ham tuḡmīšī yoq juftī yoq ham oḡlanī*

‘His substance is neither a body nor an accident. His essence (?) ...

He was never born and did not give birth (to anyone), neither has He a partner, nor a child.’

5. The interpretation of this hemistich is uncertain. I tentatively interpret the letter *y* after the initial word *javhar* (< Ar. *jawhar* ‘substance’) as the third-person possessive suffix *-ī*. The following word (spelled *xʿrʿz*) is, then, most probably Ar. *ʿaraḍ* ‘accident, accidental attribute,’ although the use of the letter *x* for the Arabic ‘(ʿayn) in word-initial position is exceptional.<sup>26)</sup> In Islamic theology, however, it is asserted that God is neither a substance nor body nor accident,<sup>27)</sup> which may suggest that *javharī* ‘His substance’ should be corrected to *javhar-u* ‘substance and,’ with ‘God’ understood as the subject of the sentence.<sup>28)</sup>

The second part of the line is even more problematic. Both Vámbéry (1867:642, 645) and Malov (1951:420, 428) understood the spellings *sʿt* and *twl* as the Arabic words *saṭḥ* ‘surface’ and *ṭūl* ‘length,’ respectively, and translated the sentence as “er hat keine Breite, keine Länge” and “U nego net poverxnosti i protjažennosti” (p. 346), also respectively. Although this fits the context well, the last two words cannot mean “(He) has no length” as they thought, since the second to last word is clearly written *twlw*,<sup>29)</sup> while the subject of a third-person possessive construction should have a possessive suffix *-ī* spelled with the letter *y*. On the other hand, Sodiqov (2010:129) reads the spelling *sʿy* as *zāti*, probably

intending to mean “His essence (*zat* < Ar. *ḡāt*),” which is also found in line 10 below.<sup>30)</sup>

6. The first sentence allows several different interpretations depending on (1) whether the verb *tuḡ-* is intransitive “to be born” (as in Old Turkic) or transitive “to give birth to” (e.g., as in Modern Uzbek and Uyghur)<sup>31)</sup> and (2) whether the perfect participle in *-mīš* is used as an action noun, a subject participle or an object participle, the last one being possible only when the verb is transitive. As the content of this hemistich is undoubtedly based on the verse “He begetteth not nor was begotten” (Qur’an 112:3),<sup>32)</sup> I interpret the first verb as intransitive and the second as transitive, used as an action noun.<sup>33)</sup>

7. *tört tabayi’ beš hawas altı jahatta yoq makan*

8. *altın üstün oñ sol içrā muna<’>zi’ yoq imkanı*

‘He has no location in the four basic qualities, the five senses, and the six directions.

No competitor is possible in (the space) below or above, right or left.’

7. *tabayi’* (*t’p’-yyx*) < Ar. *ṭabā’i* ‘natures, dispositions.’ *tört tabayi’* is an equivalent of Arabic *al-ṭabā’i* ‘*al-arba*’, which designates hot, cold, wet, and dry. *hawas* < Ar. *ḥawāss* ‘senses.’ Its spelling *x’p’z* is exceptional in rendering *ḥ-* with the letter *x* and *-w-* with the letter *p*.<sup>34)</sup> *makan* < Ar. *makān* ‘place, location.’

8. *munazi’* (*mwn’šyx*) < Ar. *munāzi’* ‘disputer, competitor.’

9. *xayir anıñtın šar anıñtın barča näñ ham andin ol*

10. *zatiniñki tašbihi’ yoq muhdis ärmäs jismani*

‘The good is from Him, the bad is from Him (and) all things are also from Him.

His essence is not to be assimilated (to anything), (as) the Creator is not corporeal.’

9. *xayir* < Ar. *xayr* ‘good, benefit.’ The high vowel *i* (or *ī*) is inserted to avoid the final consonant cluster; see Sugahara (2007:30) for the examples of epenthetic vowels found in other fifteenth-century Uyghur texts. In *anıñtın* ‘from Him’ the ablative suffix is added to the genitive form of the demonstrative pronoun. cf. Erdal (2004:197).

10. *zat* < Ar. *ḡāt* ‘essence.’ *tašbih* (*t’špyx*) < Ar. *tašbīh*. Although I follow the reading of Malov (1951:427) and Sodiқov (2010:129) for this word, I prefer to interpret it as “(the act of) assimilating,” rather than Malov’s translation “(Net) podobija” (p. 347). cf. *EI*, vol. X, p. 341 “*Tašbīh wa-Tanzīh*.” *muhdis* (*mwqdyz*<sup>35)</sup>) < Ar. *muḥdīt* ‘causer, creator.’

11. *tağ tāñiz barča biyaban ham uhuš u ham tuyur*

12. *jumla maxluq xaliqī ol maxluq ärmäs Qur'anī*

‘The mountains, seas, and all the plains as well as beasts and birds,  
the creator of all (these) creatures is He, (but) His Qur'an is uncreated.’

11. *biyaban* (py-y'p'n) < Pers. *biyābān* ‘desert.’ *uhuš* ('wxwš-) < Ar. *wuḥūš* ‘beasts.’ A similar example of the Arabic word-initial *wu-* represented as *u-* is observable in *ujud* ('wcd-) < Ar. *wujūd* ‘body, substance’ [TA169r8, 179r8].<sup>36)</sup>

13. *čīn munazza sän ärür sän bar sifatiñ tört miñ at*

14. *Tavret Injil Zaburtin Haq üdürmiş Furqanī*

‘You are true and independent, you have qualities as four thousand names.  
The true God gave preference to the Qur'an over the Torah, the Gospel and the Psalms.’

13. *munazza* (mwn'sz-) < Ar. *munazzah* ‘infallible, free from.’ Attested with similar spellings in *ariğ munazza* (mwñ'sz-) *Tāñri* ‘the God, clean and independent’ [TA170r5-6]; *munaza* (mwñ'z-) *bir-u bar ärklig Tāñri ta'ala* ‘the God, independent, one and existent, almighty, may He be exalted’ [Mi'raj1v2] etc.

14. *Tavret* (t'vryt) < Ar. *Tawrāt* ‘Torah.’ The same word is spelled *t'wryt* in [TA 96v5]. The use of the letter *y* instead of the expected ' (aleph) for the vowel of the second syllable probably reflects the change of the vowel *ā* into *ē* in Arabic (called *imāla*). See Sugahara (2007:22-23) for other examples of this. *Furqan* < Ar. *Furqān* is another name for the Qur'an, meaning ‘criterion, discrimination (between right and wrong)’.

15. *raziq u ğafar sän ök sän ä törädgän bir Uğan*

16. *jumlayi marzuq sän sän 'asilarnñ ğufrani*

‘It is you who are the provider, the forgiver, o the one God, the Creator!  
All are supplied with food (by you), you are the pardoner of the rebellious.’

15. *raziq* < Ar. *rāziq* ‘provider.’ *ğafar* < Ar. *ğaffār* ‘forgiver.’ Malov (1951:418) and Sodiqov (2010:129) read it *sab(b)ar* < Ar. *šabbār* ‘enduring’ instead. Although *sabar* is a possible reading, *ğaffār*, which is one of the “most beautiful names” of God, seems to fit the context better.

16. *marzuq* < Ar. *marzūq* ‘supplied with food.’ *‘asi* < Ar. *‘āṣī* ‘rebellious’. *ḡufrān* < Ar. *ḡufrān* ‘forgiving.’

17. *qudratīñ taṣsuq ‘ajayib sad hazar alvan üzä*

18. *biri birgä oxšamas ol sun ‘inñki alwanī*

‘Your omnipotence is wonderful and marvelous in a hundred thousand colors.

(Each of) the colors of your (*lit.* his) production are not similar to one another.’

17. *sad* < Pers. *ṣad* ‘hundred.’ *hazar* < Pers. *hazār* ‘thousand.’ *alvan, alwan* < Ar. *‘alwān* ‘colors.’

18. *sun* ‘< Ar. *ṣun* ‘‘production, fabrication.’

19. *buu yadıǵlıǵ yär mutabaq suw öräsın tu[t]dačı*

20. *ol kızıǵlıǵ ooş mu ‘all(a)q sän törätin xazranı*

‘You created just the revolving suspended sky, which takes up the space above the earth spread out and the water layered.’

19. *yadıǵlıǵ* is an adjective derived from *yad-* ‘to spread out.’ *mutabaq* < Ar. *muṭabbaq* ‘covered, folded,’ which is often used in pairs with *mu‘allaq* (< Ar.) ‘suspended,’ found in line 20:

*yadd-i qudrat birlä bu ‘arş-i mu‘allaqnı yana / saqlar uş farş-i muṭabbaq üstidä bē-iştibāh*

‘With the hand of omnipotence, (He) undoubtedly keeps this very suspended canopy (i. e. firmament) above the folded earth’ (Gadā’ī, *Dīwān*. Eckmann 1971:13 (1, 5)).

*toquz aflākni tutğan mu‘allaq / yeti qat yerni ham qılğan muṭabbaq*

‘The One who holds the nine spheres suspended and made the seven layers of earth folded.’ (Xujandī, *Laṭāfat-nāma*. Gandjei 1970:347 (4)).

*suw* (*sww*) ‘water’ can also be transcribed as *suu*. In line 24, the same word is spelled as (-)swp.<sup>37)</sup> For *örä* ‘height, elevation, support’ see EDPT:197 (örü:) and Fazylov (1971:196).

20. *kızıǵlıǵ* is a derived adjective of *kāz-* ‘to travel, walk about’. *ooş* (‘*wws*’) is simply a spelling variant of the presentative *oş*, also found in the same spelling in [136.22] and [137.14] of this manuscript.<sup>38)</sup> *xazra* < Ar. *xaḍrā* ‘sky.’

21. *yätini sän on iki burjta yürütür sän ravan*

22. *šams u zuhra ol qamar kim yäti aflak karwanı*

‘You make the seven (planets) travel among the twelve zodiac signs.

(They are) the Sun, Venus, and the Moon, who are a caravan of the seven heavens.’

21. *ravan* < Pers. *rawān* ‘going, running.’

22. *aflak* < Ar. ‘*aflāk* ‘heavens, firmaments.’

23. *muštari mirrix* ‘*utarid amrī astin ham zuhal*

24. *tūnlā kündüz ot-suβ tupraq kull-i* ‘*alam yazdanī*

‘(also) Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Saturn, (all) being under your (*lit.* his) command.

(You are) the Lord of the entire world, (including) night and day, fire, water, and earth.’

24. *ot-suβ* ‘fire (and) water’ is spelled ‘*wdswp* as one word. *yazdan* < Pers. *yazdān* ‘God.’

25. *amriṅgā mu‘ad muštahar qudratiṅniṅ iščisi*

26. *yāti tamuḡ malikī ham sākiz učmah rizwanī*

‘Those famous (?) workers of your omnipotence are destined for your command,

(including) the keeper of the seven hells and the gate guard of the eight paradises.’

25. *mu‘ad* (*mwx’d*) < Ar. *mu‘add* ‘destined, prepared.’ The word following it is spelled *mwsd x’r* and can be read *muštahar* (< Ar. *muštahar* ‘famous’), as in Vámbéry’s text (p. 643). On the other hand, Malov (1951:401) reads it *mustaqar* ‘utverždennyj, ukreplennyj,’ as does Sodiqov (2010:126).

26. *malik* < Ar. *mālik* ‘the keeper of hell.’ *rizwan* < Ar. *riḏwān* ‘the gate guard of paradise.’ The final *-h* of *učmah* (‘*wcm x*’) ‘paradise’ may possibly be transcribed as *-h*. cf. Fazylov (1971:448) and Sugahara (2007:49).

27. *bir aβuč yalqa tätiggä aḡirlap bārti jan*

28. *sākiz učmahḡa küḡürti Adam Idris Hawanī*

‘(God) honored a handful of soaked (?) mud and gave life to it.

He let Ādam, Idrīs, and Ḥawwā’ enter into the eight paradises.’

27. The content of this line is based on Qur’an 15:26: “Verily, We created man of potter’s clay of black mud altered.” *yalqa* is probably the base of *yalqalīḡ* ‘soaked’, attested in the Old Uyghur *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-tīkā-Tattvārthā*: *suv üzä yalqalīḡ topraqīḡ* ‘the soil soaked in water (acc.)’

(Shōgaito 2008:246, fn. 1115).<sup>39)</sup> *tätig* can be interpreted as a variant of *titig* ‘mud’ (EDPT:455).

28. *kügür-* is a variant of *kigür-* ‘to introduce, bring in’ (Erdal 1991:750) with regressive rounding,<sup>40)</sup> also found in [6.2] of this manuscript as well as in [TA] and [Mi‘raj] (Sugahara 2007:43). *Hawa* < *Ḥawwā*’ (personal name corresponding to Eve).

29. *gahe Da’ud qa[w]mīnīnki suratīn bāčīn qīlur*

30. *gahe Musa üzrā mihman ātti ham ol zalīnī*

‘(God) now changes the shape of the people of Dā’ūd into apes,  
now makes those who went astray the guests of Mūsā.’

29. The content of this line is based on the tradition that God transformed the unbelievers cursed by Dā’ūd (David) into apes. cf. “And ye know of those of you who broke the Sabbath, bow We said unto them: Be ye apes, despised and hated!” (Qur’an 2:65) and “Those of the children of Israel who went astray were cursed by the tongue of David, and of Jesus, son of Mary. That was because they rebelled and used to transgress.” (Qur’an 5:78).<sup>41)</sup> *gahe* (*k’x-y*) < Pers. *gāhē* ~ *gahē* ‘sometimes.’ *Da’ud* (*t’qwd*) < Ar. *Dā’ūd*.<sup>42)</sup> *qa[w]m* (*x’m-*) < Ar. *qawm* ‘tribe, people,’ as suggested by Professor O. F. Sertkaya (p.c.).

30. *zal* < Ar. *ḍāll* ‘straying, astray.’

31. *Haqnīy amrī ārti Ibrahimğa Isma’il üčün*

32. *boltī taslim Haq ijabat qilti tärkin qurbanī*

‘There came a decree from the true God to Ibrāhīm, for Ismā’il (to be sacrificed),  
(and) he was surrendered. The true God accepted his sacrifice immediately.’

31. It is recounted in Qur’an 37:102-109 that Ibrāhīm (Abraham) attempted to sacrifice his son, but was eventually stopped by God. Note that *h* of *Ibrāhīm* and ‘(‘ayn) of *Ismā’il* are both represented with the letter *y*.

32. *ijabat* < Ar. *‘ijābat* ‘answering, admitting.’

33. *yüz y(e)g(i)rmi miñ yalavač ärtilär Haq barčasi*

34. *didariña ‘ašiq ārti Musa ibn-i ‘Imrani*

‘There were one hundred and twenty thousand apostles of the true God (?) in all.  
Mūsā, the son of ‘Imrān, longed for the vision (of God).’

33. *miñ* is added above the line. The meaning of this hemistich is unclear. cf. “Hundert und zwanzig tausend Propheten waren alle wahr und recht” (Vámbéry 1867:647); “Sto dvadcat’ tysjač bylo (jego) poslannikov, vse --- božii” (Malov 1951:347).

34. The content of this line is based on Qur’an 7:143: “And when Moses came to Our appointed tryst and his Lord had spoken unto him, he said: My Lord! Show me (Thy self), that I may gaze upon Thee.” *didar* < Pers. *dīdār* ‘vision, face.’ *didarīṇa* (or *didariṇā*) ‘for his vision’ may alternatively be read as *didaringā* (same meaning), with *-(s)ingā*, an early Middle Turkic alternative of the dative of the third-person possessive suffix.<sup>43)</sup> ‘Imrān is the name of Musa’s (Moses) father, corresponding to Amram in the Bible. The final *-i* of *‘Imranī* is demanded by rhyme.

35. *oşbu künniñ maşriqintin ol yana mağribğaça*

36. *yorır ärti Bälqis utru ol Sulayman farmanı*

‘From the sunrise of that very day till sunset,  
the mandate of Sulaymān went on toward Bilqīs.’

35. The context suggests that the Arabic words *maşriq* and *mağrib* here refer to “sunrise” and “sunset,” respectively, rather than to the more common “east” and “west.”<sup>44)</sup>

36. *Bälqis* < Ar. *Bilqīs*, the name used to refer to the Queen of Sheba, whose conversion to Islam is recounted in Qur’an 27:22-44. Spelling this word with ‘ (aleph) instead of the expected *y* for the second letter is also observable in the manuscript of *A Story of Riḍwān Šāh and Rūḥ-afzā* (Kaya 2008:43 (0082)). *utru* (‘*wdrw*) is a postposition meaning “facing, toward,” here governing the nominative case.<sup>45)</sup> The mandate of Sulaymān (Solomon) was delivered to the Queen of Sheba by a hoopoe.

37. *Yaqub oğlı yuttı mihnat tardtı tuhmatlar tälim*

38. *qältı qulluq boltı padşa ol Yūsuf-i Kan‘ani*

‘The son of Ya‘qūb suffered an affliction and drew much suspicion.  
He, Yūsuf of Canaan, worked as a servant and became the king (of Egypt).’

Lines 37-40 refer to the story of Yūsuf (Joseph) of Canaan, son of Ya‘qūb (Jacob), recounted in Qur’an 12 (The sūra of Yūsuf).

37. The Arabic name *Ya‘qūb* is spelled *y’xwp*, with the consonant ‘ (‘ayn) unindicated, as is the case in *y’xwp* [Mi‘raj17v1] and *y’qwp* [TA248v3].

38. In *padša* (*p 'ds-*'), the consonant *h* at the end of the original Persian word *pādšāh* is not represented. *Kan 'ani* < Ar. *Kan 'ānī* 'of Canaan.'

39. *körk içindä Haq Yusufğa qilti kör sidiq tamam*

40. *bolti 'aşıq ol Zelixa yırttı Yusuf pirhani*

'Behold, the true God bestowed flawless sincerity on Yūsuf in his beauty,  
(when) that Zulayxā, enamored of Yūsuf, tore his shirt.'

39. *sidiq* < Ar. *ṣidq* 'truth, sincerity' with an epenthetic vowel.

40. *Zelixa* < Ar. *Zulayxā* (personal name referring to Potiphar's wife). *pirhan* (*pyr- 'n-*) < Pers. *pīrāhan* ~ *pīrahan* 'shirt.'

41. *jumla mursalğa ačintı juft oğul qız ham-nasab*

42. *sän törättiñ ruhani čin 'Isa Maryam Yahyani*

'(God) granted favors to all the apostles, (as well as) their wives, sons, daughters, and other family members.

You created holy and true Īsā, Maryam, and Yaḥyā.'

41. For *ačın-* 'to care for, grant a favor,' see EDPT:29 and Erdal (1991:584).

42. *ruhani* < Ar. *rūḥānī* 'spiritual, holy.' This hemistich refers to Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist. *Yahyani* (< Ar. *Yaḥyā* + accusative suffix *-ni*) is written twice: one is *y 'x-y 'ny* on the line and the other is *y 'xy- 'ny* above the line.

43. *rahmatij li-l- 'alamin täp yarliğ idtiñ saβčığa*

44. *atı Ahmad özi rahmat ambiyalar sultanı*

'You sent the revelation to the Apostle as your mercy to (all) creatures.

His name being Aḥmad and his essence being mercy, he is the sultan of the prophets.'

43. *li-l- 'alamin* < Ar. *li al- 'ālamīn* (*lil 'ālamīn*). *yarliğ* usually means 'command, order,' but *yarliğ id-* is used here to mean "to send a revelation." Compare [TA134v17], where *yarliğ* is used to translate *waḥy* 'revelation' from the original Persian text. cf. Sugahara (2007:50).

44. Aḥmad is one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad meaning "most worthy of praise." *ambiya* <



Ar. *'anbiyā* 'prophets.' The spelling *"mpyy-* reflects the backward assimilation *-nb-* > *-mb-*. The same spelling is observable in [TA156r2].<sup>46)</sup>

45. *qodġu qonmatī tonīḡa tūšmāti hāč kölġäsi*

46. *üč miḡ üč yüz mu'jizat-i Haq bilür biz barčani*

'Neither a fly stuck on his clothes, nor a shadow ever fell upon them.

Three-thousand-three-hundred kinds of miracles of the true God, we know them all.'

45. *qodġu* or *qudġu* 'fly' (EDPT:599) is a rare word, so far only attested in DLT 214:7 and 605:1. The spelling *twñyñ-k* for *tonīḡa* is simply a variant of *twñyñk*, rather than indicative of a form like *tonīḡä*. cf. line 34 above. *hāč* < Pers. *hēč* 'any, at all.' For the spelling variations of this word in Uyghur script, see Sugahara (2007:6-7, 22-23 and 2011:475).

46. *mu'jizat* (*mwx-cys* ʾ) < Ar. *mu'jizāt* 'miracles.'

47. *iman-islam baščilar din-šari'at šal(a)rī*

48. *ärtilər küčlüg mubariz ol šahidlar burhanī*

'They were leaders of the faith and Islam, kings of the religion and the sacred law, strong warriors and the proof of the martyrs.'

47. *šari'at* (*š'r-y-'i*) < Ar. *šarī'at*. *ša* (*s-*) < Pers. *šāh*.

48. *mubariz* < Ar. *mubāriz* 'competitor, warrior.' *šahid* (*s'yyt*) < Ar. *šahīd* 'martyr.'

49. *birisi ārti Hasan ol birisi ārti Husayin*

50. *ikisi bolti šahidlar ham aġirliġ ruhani*

'One of them was Ḥasan, the other was Ḥusayn.

Both of them became martyrs, venerated and blessed.'

49. Ḥasan (d. 669 or 670) and Ḥusayn (d. 680) are the sons of 'Alī, the fourth Rightly-guided caliph.

50. Note that in treating Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as martyrs, the Shiite position of the author of this *qaṣīda* is apparent.

51. *janlarini Haq Rasulġa qilmiš ārti fida*

52. *tört äši toquz xatunī otuz üç miñ yaranī*

‘They had sacrificed their lives to the true God and the Apostle.

(They are) his four companions, nine wives, and thirty-two-thousand friends.’

51. *fida* < Ar. *fidā* ‘sacrifice.’

52. *waran* < Pers. *yārān* ‘friend.’

53. *tört äšindä ikisidin biri Siddiq bir ‘Umar*

54. *ikisi ärti küdägü ham ‘Ali ham ‘Usmani*

‘Two of his four companions were Şiddiq and ‘Umar,

the (other) two were his sons-in-law, ‘Alī and ‘Uṭmān.’

53. Siddiq < Ar. *Şiddiq*. al-Şiddiq ‘the truthful’ is another name for the first caliph Abū Bakr. ‘Umar is the second caliph.

54. *küdägü* means “daughter’s husband.” Of the daughters of the prophet Muḥammad, Ruqayya and Umm Kulṭūm were married to ‘Uṭmān, and Fāṭima was married to ‘Alī. The final -ī of ‘*Usmani*’ is demanded by rhyme.

55. *törti muxtar altisi ma yarliqanmiş be-guman*

56. *onıña tägmiş başarat ol ‘Ali Haq arslanı*

‘Without doubt, the good news reached the ten, four of whom were the chosen ones and six of whom were given mercy. ‘Alī, the lion of the true God (was one of them).’

55. *muxtar* < Ar. *muxtār* ‘chosen.’ For the particle *ma* see EDPT:756 and Erdal (2004:347-348). *be-guman* < Pers. *bē-gumān* ‘without doubt.’

56. What is meant here by *onı* ‘the ten’ is *al-‘aşarat al-mubaşşara* ‘the ten, to whom Paradise was promised’; see *EI*, vol. 1, p. 693. *başarat* < Ar. *başārat* ‘good news.’ ‘Lion of God’ (Ar. *asad Allāh*, Pers. *šēr-i Xudā*) is one of ‘Alī’s titles.

57. *din içindä işçi ärti ol sah(a)ba jumlası*

58. *Talha, Abbas, Hamza, Mas‘ud ol qadasa Salmanı*

‘All these companions were workmen in the religion.

(They are) Ṭalḥa, ‘Abbās, Ḥamza, Mas‘ūd (and) Salmān, may God bless (them all)!’

57. *sahaba* < Ar. *ṣaḥāba* ‘the companions of the prophet Muḥammad.’

58. The five companions mentioned here are: Ṭalḥa ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh (d. 656), al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. ca. 653), Ḥamza ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 625), ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd (d. 652/53/54), and Salmān al-Fārisī<sup>47)</sup> (d. 655/656 or 656/657). *qadasa* < Ar. *qaddasa* ‘may he bless.’ The final -i of *Salmanī* is demanded by rhyme.

59. *šar‘ içindä din taḳi başlarıña uurtačı*

60. *Bu Hanıfa ol sabur Malik Mahmad Šaybani*

‘Those whose heads are adorned with the crown of religion in the Sacred Law,  
Abū Ḥanīfa, the patient Mālik and Muḥammad Šaybānī.’

59. For *tāj ur-* ‘to place a crown’<sup>48)</sup> compare: *yā Ādam, men sēni yoqđın bar qıldım. Başıñğa ḥilāfat tācını urdum taḳı ēgniñge ḥilāfat ḥil‘atını keydürdüm* ‘O Adam, I brought you into existence from nonexistence, placed the crown of vicariate (of God) on your head and the robe of vicariate (of God) on your shoulder.’ (*Nahj al-farādīs*, Eckmann (n. d.):194 [281.10-11])

60. In this line, three famous jurists are mentioned: Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān (d. 767), Mālik ibn Anas (d. 795), and Muḥammad al-Šaybānī (d. 803 or 805). *sabur* (*s’pwr*) < Ar. *ṣabūr* ‘patient’ is written with the small Arabic letter ṣ (šād) under the initial s.<sup>49)</sup>

61. *muštahidlarnıñki fax<’>rı kull-i ‘ilmnıñ kanları*

62. *Qazi Y(a) ‘qub Šafi‘i ham Bu Hanıfa Nu‘manı*

‘The glory of mujtahids, the mine of every kind of learning,  
Qāḍī Ya‘qūb, Šāfi‘ī, and Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān.’

61. *muštahid* (*mwš-t’xyd*) < Ar. *mujtahid* is the jurist capable of exercising *ijtihād*, the use of individual reasoning; see *EI*, vol. VII, p. 295 “*Mudj̣tahid*.” Consonant *j* and *ž* in Arabic and Persian words are normally both written with the letter *c* in Uyghur manuscripts of the Timurid period.<sup>50)</sup> The exceptional use of the letter *š* here probably reflects a spirantization and devoicing of the consonant *j* before a voiceless dental stop *t*.<sup>51)</sup> *faxr* (< Ar.) ‘glory, pride.’ A small Arabic letter *ḥ* (*ḥā*) is written under *x*, in error, for *x* (*xā*). *kan* < Ar. *kān* ‘mine.’

62. *qazi* < Ar. *qāḍī* ‘judge.’<sup>52)</sup> The word for the name *Ya‘qūb* is spelled as *yxqwp* in this line, with the consonant ‘ (‘ayn) represented by the letter *x*, below which the small Arabic letter ‘ is written. *Qāḍī Ya‘qūb* refers to *Ya‘qūb ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī* (Abū Yūsuf al-Qāḍī) (d. 798), who served as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*) during the reign of *Hārūn al-Rašīd*; see *EI*, vol. I, p. 164 “Abū Yūsuf.” *Šafi‘ī* refers to *Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Šāfi‘ī* (d. 820), the eponym of the *Šāfi‘ī* school of religious law. For *Bū* (Abū) *Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān* see line 60. The final *-ī* of *Nu‘manī* is demanded by rhyme.

63. *‘išq içindä bu-l-haḳīqat Bayazid Zu-Nunlayu*

64. *bir körümün zunar ursu[n] (?) ol majusi nasrani*

‘Being (absorbed) in love (for God), like the ‘fathers of (mystical) truth’ *Bāyazīd* and *Ḍū al-Nūn*, let that Zoroastrian (and) Christian throw out (?) (their) non-Muslim’s girdle at a glance.’

63. *bu-l-haḳīqat* (*pwl ’’qyq’*) < Ar. *bū al-ḥaḳīqat* (*bulḥaḳīqat*). *Bāyazīd al-Baṣṭāmī* (d. ca. 875) and *Ḍū al-Nūn* (*Ḍunnūn*) *al-Miṣrī* (d. ca. 861) are both famous Sufis. The last stretch of line, spelled *l’yw*,<sup>53)</sup> is the Old Turkic similitive suffix *-lāyū/-layu* (cf. Erdal 2004:179) attested in, for example, *inčülāyū* ‘like a pearl’ [5.3] and *udlayu* ‘like an ox’ [135.8, 160.13] in this manuscript.<sup>54)</sup>

64. The reading of the first part of this line is quite uncertain and the translation is a conjecture.<sup>55)</sup> For *körüm* ‘view,’ see Erdal (1991:295). *zunar* (*swñ’r*) < Ar. *zunnār* designates the girdle non-Muslims living under Muslim rule were obliged to wear. *majusi* < Ar. *mājūsī* ‘fire worshipper, Zoroastrian.’ *nasrani* < Ar. *naṣrānī* ‘Christian.’

65. *ä uluḡ mängü Uḡanīm qadir u qahar Idim*

66. *sän kächürgil tüšmiš ärsä bu sözümnij tuḡyanī*

‘O my great and eternal God, my powerful and dominating Lord, forgive me if these words of mine fall into excess.’

65. *qadir* < Ar. *qāḍir* ‘powerful’ and *qahar* (*q’-’r*) < Ar. *qahhār* ‘dominator’ are among the “most beautiful names” of God.

66. *tuḡyan* < Ar. *tuḡyān* ‘flood, exceeding bounds.’

67. *ä muḡum bilgän törütgän ham ḡafur sän ham sabur*

68. *ham rahim sän ham karim sän ät-ezimnij darmanī*

‘O, the creator who knows my grief, and you are forgiving and patient.

Also you are compassionate and generous, a remedy for my body (?)’

67. *ğafūr* < Ar. *ğafūr* ‘pardonner.’ *sabur* < Ar. *şabūr* ‘patient.’

68. *rahim* < Ar. *raḥīm* ‘compassionate.’ *karim* < Ar. *karīm* ‘generous.’ These two, as well as *ğafūr* and *şabūr* in line 67, are among the “most beautiful names” of God. *āt-ez* (ʾʾd-ʾys-) is probably a variant form of Old Turkic *āt-öz* ‘body.’ The similar forms *etez* and *etiz* are attested in *Codex Cumanicus* (Grønbech 1942:96).<sup>56)</sup>

69. *barča maxluq baqi ärmäs ač baqin* ‘ibrat közin

70. *qalmatī sultan salatin ham Nişurvan aywanī*

‘No creature is eternal, (so) open your eyes of warning and look around!

There is nothing left of the kings (of the past), neither of the palace of Anōšīrwān.’

69. *baqi* < Ar. *bāqī* ‘eternal.’ For *baqin*- ‘to look around’ see EDPT:316 and Erdal (1991:591).

70. *Nişurvan* (nyšwrv’n) < Pers. *Nōšīrwān* (*Anōšīrwān*, *Nōšīn-rawān*) is the Sasanian king Khusraw I (r. 531-579). The same name is spelled as *nwšyr* ‘v’n in [20.9] of this manuscript.

71. *bu qasidanī oqığan ham ešitgāngā Idim*

72. *lutfuñ ičrā bārgin uçmah mengü didar m(a)’manī*

‘My Lord, to those who recite and listen to this *qaşīda*,

in your benevolence bestow the paradise, the peaceful residence of the eternal appearance (of God).’

72. *ma’man* (mxm’n-) (< Ar.) ‘place of safety.’ Note that below *ma’man* the same word is written in Arabic script. A small Arabic letter that looks like *h* (*hā’*) under the letter *x* was probably added in error.

73. *bu Qara Sayil atağim aval atim ol Hasan*

74. *ham üçünči alqabim Šams açtī Rab hikmat kanī*

‘This one, called Qara Sayil, whose (*lit.* my) first name is Hasan,

and whose (*lit.* my) third name is Šams, the Lord has opened the mine of wisdom (for him).’

As noted above, that this distich contains the name of the author of this *qaşīda* was first pointed out by

Arat (1947:XXXIV).

73. For *atağ* ‘appellation, designation,’ derived from the verb *ata-* ‘to call, to name,’ see DTS:66 and Fazylov (1966:81). *aval* < Ar. ‘*awwal* ‘first.’

74. *alqab* (‘*l-q’p-*) < Ar. ‘*alqāb* ‘titles, nicknames.’ Though the reason for the use of the plural form instead of its singular *laqab* is not clear, the common Arabic epithet *Šams al-dīn* ‘the sun of the religion’ is meant here.

75. *rahmatıñtın ma ülüg qıl ä törätgän bir Uğan*

76. *sän küdäzgil naz’ halında jumla mu’min imanī*

‘Grant out of your mercy as (my) portion, o the one God, the Creator!

Protect the faith of all believers with their last breath!’

76. The reading *naz’* is confirmed by the small Arabic letter ‘(‘ayn) written below the final letter *x*. For *naz’ halī* compare the Arabic *ḥālat al-naz’* ‘the last breath’ (Steingass 1975:1397) and the following hemistich by Luṭfī: *gerçi ki nez’ ḥālīga yetti bu luṭfī hecrinde* ‘Although this Luṭfī reached his end in separation from her’ (Luṭfī, *Dīwān*. Karaağaç 1997:163 (1498)).

77. *āmīn yā rabb al-‘ālamīn*

‘Amen, o the Lord of the worlds!’

This Arabic prayer is written in Arabic script.

Text B. *Qıñ’a*<sup>57)</sup>

78-79. *Xudaya gar yazuq qıldım bağışla / ba haqq-i Mustafa uu ahl-i baytī*

‘O God! Forgive me if I have committed a sin, for the sake of Muṣṭafā and his family.’

78. *Xudaya* < Pers. *Xudāyā* ‘O God!’

79. *ba haqq-i* < Pers. *ba ḥaqq-i* ‘for the sake of.’ Muṣṭafā is one of the names of the Prophet Muḥammad meaning “chosen, select.” The double spelling of vowel in *uu* (‘*ww*) < Pers. *u* ‘and’ might possibly reflect the metrical lengthening required for this syllable. *ahl-i bayt* (< Pers.) “people of the house” refers to the family of Muḥammad.

80-81. *yazuqsız xod kişi yoq tur jihanta / yaman qilti oş ol kim imannı satdı*

‘Indeed, no one in the world is free from sin. (But) he who sold (his) faith did evil.’

80. *xod* < Pers. *xʷad* ‘self, oneself,’ here used for emphasis. For the representation of Persian *xʷa-* and *xʷā-* in Uyghur script, see Sugahara (2007:23).

Text C. colophon I

82-87. *terix sākiz yüz qırq üçtä qoy / yil axiri muh(a)ram aynıñ / tört yañisi / Haru šahrin / ta / bitilti*

‘(This text) was finally (?) written on the fourth day of Muḥarram 843 (June 17, 1439), the year of sheep, in Herat city.’

82. *terix* (*tyryx*) < Ar. *taʿrīx*. The spellings *tyryx* or *tyryq* for this word are found in [185:26] of this manuscript, in the manuscript of *A Story of Riḍwān Šāh and Rūḥ-afzā* (Kaya 2008:165 (1003)), and in the decree by Timurid Šāh-Rux dated 1421/1422 (Ono 2006:44).

83. *axiri* (< Ar. *āxir* ‘end’ + 3rd person possessive suffix *-i*) normally means ‘its end, the latter part of it.’<sup>58)</sup> However, as the years in the twelve-animal calendar used at that time began in spring (either on *nawrōz*, the spring equinox, or on 立春 *lichūn*, the first day of spring)<sup>59)</sup> the estimated date could not have been at the ‘end’ of the sheep year. The translation ‘finally’ is only a conjecture. cf. Uzbek *oxiri* ‘in the end, finally, at long last’ (Mamatov et al. 2011:763).

Text D. Persian *rubāʿī* (in the Arabic script)<sup>60)</sup>

*jānē-st wujūdām ki jahānaš badan-ast / šam ʿē-st ruxām ki āftābaš lakan-ast*

*man banda-i xāš u maẓhar-i luṭf-i Ḥaq-am / qisṣa či kunām man ōyam ō jumla man-ast*

‘My existence is a soul, for which the world is a body.

My face is a candle, for which the sun is a holder.

I am a distinguished servant (of God), where the grace of the true God manifests itself.

What story shall I tell, (since) I am He and He is totally I.’

Text E. bottom margin note on [188]

(1) *ham* (2) *jumadil-axir ay* (3) *nñ on beş* (4) *tin başlap ay* (?)

(5) *miñ ranj* "lp' (?) (6) *bärtılār*

‘also, starting from the fifteenth of Jumādā al-āxir, month (?)

so much (*lit.* thousand) pain ... they gave.’

The lower end of the page might have been cut away. Radloff (1891:230 margin) transliterates lines (4)-(5) as *tyñ p 'šl'p "ñy myñk "c y'p'*.

(2) *jumadil-axir* (*cwm'dyl "xyr*) < Ar. *Jumādā al-’āxir* (*Jumādāl’āxir*). Provided that this date pertains to the same year shown in colophon I, it corresponds to November 23, 1439.

(5) *ranj* < Pers. (6) *bärtılār* ‘they gave’ can alternatively be read as *bartılar* ‘they went.’

### Notes

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- 1) Published several times in facsimile (see the end of the bibliography). I use mainly the Istanbul edition published in 1942.
- 2) I presume this Arabic prayer belongs to the *qaşıda*.
- 3) In fact, Persian *rubā'ī* is written slantwise on both sides of lines 10-16.
- 4) It is highly possible that text D was also written at this time, as Radloff suggests in his introduction to the facsimile edition of *Qutadğu Bilig* (1890:II).
- 5) For text F and its author see Arat (1947:XXXIV-XXXVI), Sertkaya (1977:13), Ono (2000:156-158), Sertkaya (2004), and Sodiqov (2010:5-6).
- 6) Vámbéry (1867:650) considered text B a *rubā'ī*, but neither the meter nor the rhyme scheme is that of a *rubā'ī*.
- 7) This view was subsequently accepted by Sertkaya (1977:13-14) and Sodiqov (2010:4).
- 8) However, there are certain discrepancies between the text, its Russian translation, and what is found in the glossary. See Sugahara (2009:242, fn. 3).
- 9) Malov notes the absence of the accusative suffix in -g/-ğ and the participial suffix -glī.
- 10) There is no reason to suppose that the front/back oppositions of the vowels had been neutralized in this variety of Middle Turkic.
- 11) The letter *v* is not used in the following fifteenth-century Uyghur manuscripts: the manuscript containing the text of *A Story of Riḍwān Šāh and Rūh-afzā* and two other texts (copied in 1435), the manuscript containing the text of *Mi'rāj-nāma* ([Mi'rāj]) and *Taḡkira-i awliyā* ([TA]) (copied in Herat in 1436), the Samarqand manuscript of *Aṭabat al-Ḥaqā'iq* (copied in 1444), and the Kabul manuscript of Khujandī's *Latāfat-nāma* (copied in 1488).
- 12) Note that the letter *w* is also used as a *mater lectionis* for rounded vowels.
- 13) The double consonant -ww- is reflected here as a single one.
- 14) Sometimes substituted with the ordinary, single-dotted *fā'*.
- 15) In the following transcription, the letter *p* corresponding to the Old Uyghur *v* is indicated with *β*. See Sugahara (2011:475-476) for more details on this.
- 16) The letters *x* and *q* have the same shape, the former undotted, the latter doubly-dotted.



- 17) Note that the double consonant *-hh-* is reflected as single *-h-*.
- 18) Compare the use of the letter *y* for the Arabic ' (hamza) in *t'p'-yyx* (7) < Ar. *ṭabā'i* 'natures', which is indicative of the replacement of the intervocalic glottal stop with the glide *y* (as observed in its Modern Persian form *tabāye*).
- 19) In *x's-r'* (20) < Ar. *xadrā* 'sky'; 'w-' (28) < Ar. *Ḥawwā'* (personal name); 'mpyy-' (44) < Ar. 'anbiyā' 'prophets,' and *pyd'* (51) < Ar. *fidā'* the final ' (alif) following *ā* is not represented either. However, omission of the word-final ' in these words is also quite common in Turkic texts written in Arabic script.
- 20) In the following transliteration, Arabic letters and words written under the lines are shown in the right margin, and the letters to which they are added underlined.
- 21) In order to facilitate reading, the text is transcribed according to the system commonly used in Middle Turkic philology with slight modifications. Voicing assimilation of suffix onset consonants is not indicated in the transcription. Note especially that the letters *t* and *d* at the onset of an inflectional suffix are given as the transliteration of the Uyghur letters *t* (tau) and *d* (lamed) respectively, without any phonological interpretation.
- 22) meter: *ramal-i muṭamman-i maḥḍūf* (-.-|-.-|-.-|-.-)
- 23) For more details on the suffix combination *-niḡki* in Middle Turkic, see Sugahara (in print).
- 24) Not *m'xy* as Vámbéry, Malov, and Sodiqov thought it to be. cf. Radloff (1891:228) *mwq'py* (*q* = *x* with two dots).
- 25) Radloff (1891:228) gives the corrected text 'd'm-w, with the original form in the footnote. However, he also corrected the following *cyn-ñw* to *cyn-w*, which is unnecessary.
- 26) Arabic *ḡ* is normally represented by the Uyghur letter *z* or *s*; see Sugahara (2007:24).
- 27) cf. Nakamura (2013:108).
- 28) Both Vámbéry and Malov interpreted the *-i* as Persian *ezāfe*, probably due to the erroneous reading of the following word as *cyz-my*, that is, *jismī* 'corporeal,' instead of *cyz-mw*, and translated the first part of the line as "Fleischliche Existenz ist nicht seine Absicht" (1867:645) and "Telesnaja substancija ego ne est' dviženie (protjažennost')"(1951:346), respectively. Compare the correct readings *cyz-mw* (Radloff 1891:228) and *jism-u* (Sodiqov 2010:129).
- 29) cf. Radloff (1891:228) has *twlw*. Sodiqov (2010:129) reads it as *tavlu*. Prof. Osman Sertkaya (p.c.) suggested the reading *töl-i* for *twlw*, which would mean "(He has no) descendants."
- 30) In fact, the meter requires the second part of the line to correspond to six syllables (short-long-long-long-short-long), while the stretch *s'ly twlw ywx* contains only five syllables. This suggests that there is an omission and/or an error in this line.
- 31) Note that in Kirghiz, the verb *tū-* (< *tuġ-*) is known to be both transitive and intransitive (Judaxin 1965:772).
- 32) In the following, English translations of the Qur'anic verses are taken from Pickthall (1982).
- 33) Or conversely, the first verb is transitive and the second verb is intransitive, denoting as a whole "he did not gave birth (to anyone) and was never born." Malov translates it as "On ne rodil i ne rožden" (1951:346). Vámbéry's translation "Er ist und war nicht geboren" (1867:645) is unacceptable.
- 34) In [TA], the Persian word *darwēš* 'dervish' is normally spelled as *t'rpys*, which may reflect the sound change *w* > *b* adjacent to a liquid.
- 35) Vámbéry, Malov, and Sodiqov read the fourth letter as *p* while Radloff (1891:228) has *mwqdyz*.
- 36) Compare to the Kirghiz form, *ujut*, of this word (Judaxin 1965:798).
- 37) In [TA] the word for "water" is spelled *sww* ~ *sw*(-). See Sugahara (2007:21).
- 38) In [105.13] it is spelled 'wwš.
- 39) Vámbéry (1867:647) left this and the following word untranslated. Malov interpreted *yal* as "voznagraždenie, najem" (1951:383) and translated this line as "On -- polnoj gorst'ju (vsem) smyšlenym dal v najem žizn', istinno vozvyšaja (ix)" (p. 347).
- 40) Radloff (1891:228) corrects *kwwkwrty* to *kykwrty*, which is unnecessary.

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## ウイグル文字で書かれた中期チュルク語による頌詩

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1439 年にヘラートで筆写された、『クタドゥグ・ビリグ』ヘラート写本（ウイーン写本、ウイグル文字による）の末尾近くの数ページには、明らかにこの作品には属さない中期チュルク語による頌詩や断片詩などが書かれている。これらについては既に Vámbéry や Malov による研究や、近年では Sodiqov による転写テキストが発表されているが、いずれも十分なものとは言い難い。本稿は、近年の古代・中期チュルク語研究の成果をふまえて、これらの新しいテキスト・エディションを英訳および注釈とあわせて提出するものである。

